

on; but, sir, when you call upon me to change a bill of the last session, in order to give the spoils to the new ad-

shall take effect now, another part ten days hence—am not willing to stultify the committee or the Senate by proposing a bill, solely for the purpose of giving the spoils to the other party, for the purpose of giving denunciation of spoils upon their lips; proscription to be proscribed, with the only test, is he honest, is he faithful? Now, sir, they wish not only to avail themselves of all that the laws now give them, but to change the legislation of Congress to double the salaries of foreign ministers, to increase our foreign missions, to create new departments of the government, and to fill them with these spoilers from their party. I wish a test-vote upon the whole system, and we will see who upholds it. I have no objection to a bill to be put up, and I have a letter to the gentleman over the way, got up here to compel a lecture which he delivered to me and to the gentleman from Massachusetts, who merely requested that the bill be left over until to-morrow, until he could have an opportunity to examine it, and to examine the gentleman from Illinois has complained so bitterly. I know not whether they exist or not, sir. It has not been my province to look into their things. I saw a friend get up, and modestly say that he should like to examine it, saying, at the same time, that he would not say anything and would make the most modest request, it, that the gentleman from Illinois gets up and charges the whig party with being corruptors for spoils—when by regarding all the things in the bill as spoils—Am I to say by—are all the things in the bill spoils?—and then to say, "I object, it is hands, without opening our mouth? No, sir; no."

Again, sir, what does he say? He charges in the whig party with wishing to double the salaries of foreign ministers, and to increase our foreign missions, and to create new departments. I reiterate that charge, just as I do the other, sir. What whig made any motion in this house to double salaries? Did the proposition to enlarge the salaries of our ministers to France, Russia, and England, and to increase our foreign missions, and to create new departments as it was advocated by a whig—or did the information, upon which the whole was based, come from a whig? It was endorsed by a democrat from Alabama, [Mr. Davis.] Yes, sir, endorsed, it is said, even by the

mind over the way, for, from whom I have great esteem, who bears a cognomen they apply to myself, advocated most lustily. And, sir, that proposition was defeated perhaps as much by myself and the gentleman over the subject, as by the gentleman, Mr. Douglas, by our opposition to it. I have not the least doubt that the same was defeated as much by us as by any half demagogue. It now seems at the gentleman from Illinois is to charge upon us all at an evidence of the disposition upon the part of the whig party to obtain the spoils of legislation, the spoils of the Government themselves.

MR. DOUGLAS. Allow me to ask whether the sole object is not spoils?

MR. UNDERWOOD. I have already said that I have no objection to the bill whatever. I have scarcely any objection to its provisions. It has not been my duty to examine it, not being upon the committee which acted upon it. I am wholly unacquainted with its provisions, the inconsistencies of which he has alluded to, and I will say this, it is a very consistent bill, and I will say this, it is a very consistent bill, and in this particular case it can be a great wisdom in that. What is the gentleman doing in making his charge of spoils upon us? I should like to know what he has examined the impulse of his own heart, and I should like to know what he has stimulated him in his wish to do so on an early day.

MR. DOUGLAS. The first section of the bill provided that it shall take effect from and after its passage. I was told, and I have not changed my position. I was told that the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Douglas, considered that the proper form, and nobody dreamed of changing it until after the election. Now it is said that some of these same members deem that wrong, and that the election of Gen. Taylor, which was right before the eyes of the country, was wrong.

MR. UNDERWOOD. The gentleman has talked about influencing the Senate. Now, I should have to testify to that, if I did not suppose that he had sagacity enough to know a year ago for his own purpose, and I do not suppose that he would testify to that extent. For his purpose, sir, it was the easiest thing in the world to see that this would be upon the safe side.

MR. DOUGLAS. Why did not the whig members op-

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have had nothing to do with Sir. If it had fallen into my hands, sir—it it had belonged to my committee, I would have banded it upon that Sir and honorable legislative action which we ought always to base things upon. But, sir, has the gentleman any right to say that the Senate should not have the right? How does the senator place himself upon that proposition? Here is a senator getting up and denouncing the popular branch of the legislature—denouncing the act—saying that they had introduced a certain bill, and that it was a bad bill, and that they should not effect upon a particular day, but because they were very stimulated by motives to obtain the spoils for the other President. Sir, is that the position that members in this branch are to assume in reference to the Government, that it has been placed in the hands of the men at that spectacle in this aspect of it, and I shall call to them hereafter to look at it, that a member of this Senate has said that, instead of acting upon principle, it is with the base intent to secure the spoils. But, Mr. President, if I have been guilty of such a crime, I will think there may have been great wisdom on the part of the other branch of the legislature putting this at a more distant day. I think, at the last gap of this antinomian democracy—this democracy, which is the last gap of the antinomian democracy—the last gap of it the legislature should have pursued the course they did pursue. They might not have desired to trouble the Executive, in the expiring months of death, in hunting up officers to fill the places provided for by the laws, but I think they were right to go on to settle the laws which will be sent to him. I want him to give a fair consideration to all the laws at to him—signing them, or returning them with objections. He will have enough to do without appointing men to fill the offices in this respect. I think the gentleman has no right to say that the members of the House of Representatives to relieve the President of these labors?

Mr. DOWNS. Certainly it was.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I cannot agree with the view that the President is to be taken from Louisiana to the House of Representatives, and presume they applied it in other cases.

Mr. DOWNS. How many other cases?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. One, and, sir, are not counted; have I not called your attention to that part of the subject? I do not intend to: I have nothing to do with that.

Mr. DOWNS made a remark, which was not heard by the reporter.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." Let us dispose of this, and let the matter rest. Now, sir, I have another object in view than to tell the gentleman from Illinois, I hope he will not read us any more lectures. I think, after the twenty years' practice on the other side, coming with very bad grace for him to get up and lecture in this manner of whom we have done this.

I had no expectation of opening my mouth on this subject. I am sorry that I have been called up; but do not intend, if I can defend myself or my party, to sit by and hear charges made of this character when I have power to defend myself.

Mr. ALLEN. This thing of giving a legislative act retrospective operation, when the nature of the subject itself does not require it, is unusual. The presentation of a clause so extremely unusual compels us to resort to an unusual method in order to get rid of it. Now, sir, I do not deny that in the slightest degree we have the power. But can an antislavery man in Kentucky talk about the last days of the democratic party, he ought to remember that the first breath of the whig party is not yet drawn. Sir, gentlemen ought to be modest in conversation. The minority administration is the first minority administration. They will represent a minority of the American voters; and when they undertake to talk about the extension of democracy of this country, they are deceiving us, and they are deceiving the whig party. Sir, in regard to the spoils of the whig party, I am sure that there is a large part of the country, we have no right to make any prediction.

We have heard much said against proscription in former times; but in these latter days, when we are so anxious to take a man 75% to take a criminal form, we are preceded by criminal charges by evidence against those who are to vacate offices. To make places for those who stand ready to fill them. I understand, sir,